

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3052
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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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USDEL MBFR VIENNA
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 2308

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM NATO
SUBJ: MBFR: DATA DISAGGREGATION: SPC MEETING APRIL 20

REF: A. STATE 88516 200132Z APR 77
B. MBFR VIENNA 145 231747Z MAR 77
C. USNATO 2210 151437Z APR 77

SUMMARY: AT APRIL 20 SPC MEETING, WE INTRODUCED
THE US TEXT OF DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE TO THE AHG ON
EXCHANGE OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS. FRG SUPPORTED
THE DUTCH PROPOSAL FOR AN UNCLASSIFIED NATO DATA
PUBLICATION AS A WAY OF INDIRECTLY GIVING THE
EAST NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WITHOUT TABLING THEM.
UK MADE EXTENSIVE STATEMENT OPPOSING THE DUTCH
PROPOSAL, AND STRESSING THE WEST'S ABILITY TO
MAINTAIN THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVITY IF
NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS ARE TABLED. DUTCH REP
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NOTED THAT SEVERAL DELEGATIONS HAD DIFFICULTY
WITH DUTCH PROPOSAL, AND STRESSED DUTCH
PREFERENCE FOR ACTUAL TABLING OF NATIONAL
SUB-TOTALS. HE TOLD US PRIVATELY DUTCH DELEGATION
HAS ASKED THE HAGUE TO WITHDRAW THE DUTCH
PROPOSAL.
FRG CONTINUES TO APPEAR RECEPTIVE TO US
ARGUMENTS, AND FRG DELEGATION OFFICER HAS
INFORMED US PRIVATELY THAT IN LIGHT OF US
COMMENTS AT THE LAST MEETING, FRG IS MOVING AWAY

FROM THE FRG IDEA OF DISAGGREGATION ON A FUNCTIONAL BASIS. WE BELIEVE THE US CAN BEST PROFIT FROM APPARENT FRG RECEPTIVENESS BY GIVING THE FRG IN TOTO THE TALKING POINTS PAPER IN REF A, THUS ENABLING THE US TO DRAW SELECTIVELY ON KEY PORTIONS IN SPC. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO GUARD AGAINST A SITUATION WHERE THE FRG MIGHT BECOME DEFENSIVE AND SEEK ONLY TO DEFEND ITS POSITION BEFORE THE COURT OF THE THIRTEEN OTHER ALLIES. ACTION REQUESTED: SEE PARA 14 BELOW. END SUMMARY.

1. US REP (MOORE) INTRODUCED THE US TEXT OF DRAFT NAC GUIDANCE TO THE AHG. HE EXPLAINED THAT THIS WAS TO HELP THE SPC VISUALIZE WHAT WE SAID AT THE LAST MEETING, ABOUT BUILDING INTO THE NAC GUIDANCE CERTAIN SAFEGUARDS TO THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVITY. HE NOTED PER PARA 1, REF A, THAT THE US WAS NOT SEEKING IMMEDIATE REACTIONS TO THE LANGUAGE, BUT BELIEVED THE DRAFT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN DUE COURSE AS THE DATA DISCUSSION PROGRESSES. WE ALSO INDICATED PER PARA 2, REF A, THAT THE US WOULD CONTINUE ACTIVELY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DISCUSSION ON VARIOUS OPTIONS ON DATA DISAGGREGATION AND PROPOSED FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK, WHEN US WOULD HAVE ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO MAKE. WE COMMENTED ON DUTCH PROPOSAL SECRET

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PER PARA 5, REF A. HOWEVER WE DID NOT USE PARA 3, REF A, IN SPC, RE DISCUSSION OF LONG-TERM ASPECTS. WHEN WE DISCUSSED CONTENT OF THIS PARA WITH FRG DELEGATION OFFICER EARLIER IN THE DAY, HE EXPLAINED THAT FRG WAS NOT ASKING THAT DISCUSSION OF LONG-TERM ASPECTS OF DATA DISCUSSION BEGIN IMMEDIATELY. HE WELCOMED THE US POSITION ON THIS MATTER, BUT DID NOT THINK IT NECESSARY TO DISCUSS IT AT THIS SPC MEETING. THE QUESTION IN FACT DID NOT ARISE AT THIS MEETING.

2. FRG REP (CITRON) INFORMED SPC THAT THE FRG WISHED TO STRESS THAT IT WELCOMES THE DUTCH PROPOSAL TO PREPARE AN UNCLASSIFIED NATO DATA PUBLICATION CONTAINING A VARIETY OF NATIONAL DATA AS A WAY OF CONVEYING DATA INFORMALLY TO THE OTHER SIDE. THE FRG CONSIDERED THAT FOR SUCH A PUBLICATION TO BE USEABLE IT WOULD HAVE TO CONTAIN NATIONAL MANPOWER DATA BROKEN DOWN INTO GROUND AND AIR PERSONNEL FOR EACH MEMBER OF THE NATO INTEGRATED DEFENSE STRUCTURE. (COMMENT: REFERENCE TO INTEGRATED STRUCTURE MEETS THE FRENCH OBJECTION TO THIS PROPOSAL AT THE LAST MEETING, BUT DOES NOT MEET THE TURKISH OBJECTION.

HOWEVER TURKISH REP DID NOT COMMENT AT TODAY'S MEETING. END COMMENT) IN ADDITION THE PUBLICATION WOULD ALSO CONTAIN THE DATA ON US, UK, AND CANADIAN FORCES STATIONED IN THE NGA. THE

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AUTHENTICITY OF SUCH A NATO PUBLICATION WOULD BE BEYOND DOUBT, AND SUCH A PUBLICATION COULD BE USED AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS. FRG REP REITERATED THAT THE FRG IS NOT AGAINST PUBLICATION OF THIS DATA, BUT RATHER ITS TABLING IN VIENNA. THE FRG BELIEVES SUCH TABLING COULD BE USED BY THE OTHER SIDE AGAINST THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVITY, DOUBTS THAT DISCUSSION OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WOULD LEAD TO CLARIFICATION OF THE DISCREPANCIES RE EASTERN DATA, AND THEREFORE IS LOOKING FOR OTHER METHODS TO SEEK TO CLARIFY THESE DISCREPANCIES. HE NOTED THAT THE FRG WAS TRYING TO PREPARE A PAPER.

3. UK REP (JANVRIN) SAID THAT HIS AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT THE DUTCH PROPOSAL WILL NOT
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OVERCOME THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES. WHAT THE UK WANTS IS TO ELICIT NATIONAL FIGURES FROM THE OTHER SIDE WHILE PRESERVING THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVITY. THE WESTERN TABLING OF ITS

NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS, ACCOMPANIED BY A DISCLAIMER, WOULD SERVE THESE TWO OBJECTIVES. THE DUTCH PROPOSAL FAILS ON BOTH COUNTS. FIRST, WE CANNOT EXTRACT THE OTHER SIDE'S SUB-TOTALS WITHOUT TABLING OUR OWN. UNDER THE DUTCH PROPOSAL, THE OTHER SIDE WOULD ONLY PRESS THE WEST TO FORMALLY CONFIRM IN THE NEGOTIATION THE FIGURES IN THE PUBLICATION. SECOND, THE DUTCH PROPOSAL, WHICH WOULD NOT FORMALLY TABLE THE DATA, WOULD NOT PERMIT THE ALLIES TO ISSUE A DISCLAIMER.

4. UK REP SAID THAT THE UK AGREED WITH US STATEMENT AT THE PREVIOUS MEETING THAT THE WEST CAN MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE EAST AND TO THE PUBLIC THAT THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS DOES NOT SIGNAL A WILLINGNESS TO ABANDON COLLECTIVITY, BECAUSE OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY AS WELL AS THE DISCLAIMER WHICH THE AHG WOULD MAKE. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE ALLIANCE IS ALREADY PURSUING THE DATA DISCUSSION IN VIENNA ON A NATIONAL BASIS, THROUGH THE QUESTIONS IT HAS NECESSARILY HAD TO PUT TO THE OTHER SIDE. THUS THERE IS ALREADY TO SOME EXTENT A PRECEDENT FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST ON A NATIONAL BASIS, AND AN EXCHANGE OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WOULD NOT SET A PRECEDENT IN THIS REGARD. UK WOULD AGREE WITH FRG THAT TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WILL NOT NECESSARILY LEAD TO A CLARIFICATION OF THE DISCREPANCIES RE THE EASTERN FIGURES, BUT THE WEST SHOULD MAKE THE EFFORT, AND THE UK CANNOT SEE THAT ANY OTHER APPROACH IS MORE PROMISING.

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5. DUTHC REP (MEESMAN) NOTED THAT SEVERAL DELEGATIONS HAD DIFFICULTY WITH THE DUTCH PROPOSAL. HE WOULD CONSULT HIS AUTHORITIES, WHO WOULD CONSIDER THE MATTER AGAIN. HE STRESSED THE STRONG DUTCH PREFERENCE FOR A TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS. HE THOUGHT THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD PROBABLY BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THE DRAFT GUIDANCE WHICH THE US HAD TABLED WITHOUT CHANGE. (COMMENT: DUTCH REP HAS INFORMED US THAT DUTCH DELEGATION CAN NOW SEE THAT THE DUTCH PROPOSAL WAS NOT HELPFUL. DUTCH DELEGATION HAS ASKED THE HAGUE FOR AUTHORIZATION TO AGREE WITH THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE DUTCH PROPOSAL AND TO WITHDRAW IT. THIS WOULD, OF COURSE, NOT CAUSE THE FRG TO WITHDRAW ITS SUPPORT OF THE DUTCH PROPOSAL, BUT IT WOULD LEAVE THE FRG AS THE ONLY COUNTRY ACTUALLY SUPPORTING IT. END COMMENT)

6. ITALIAN REP (CIARRAPICO) SAID THAT HIS AUTHORITIES BELIEVED THAT TO GAIN TIME ON THE CURRENT ISSUE, THE ALLIES SHOULD NOW AGREE ON GUIDANCE TO THE AHG TO TABLE RED DATA, I.E., OUR ESTIMATES OF TOTAL EASTERN MILITARY MANPOWER AND TOTAL EASTERN GROUND MANPOWER. UK REP POINTED OUT THAT ALTHOUGH THE UK AT ONE TIME WISHED TO GIVE THE AHG DISCRETIONARY GUIDANCE ON THIS SUBJECT, UK BELIEVED THE TIME HAD NOT COME FOR THE SORT

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OF CONFRONTATION WITH THE EAST WHICH THE
TABLING OF RED DATE WOULD PRODUCE. US REP POINTED
OUT THAT AHG REPRESENTATIVES, AT THEIR MOST
RECENT BRIEFINGS OF THE NAC, HAS SAID THAT THEY
DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE TIME IS APPROPRIATE TO
TABLE RED DATE. GIVEN THIS VIEW OF THE AD HOC
GROUP, HE FORESAW NO CHANGE IN THE US POSITION
ON THE TABLING OF RED DATA.

7. BELGIAN REP (CROLLEN) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES
FOUND THE DUTCH PROPOSAL "INTERESTING." HE SAID
HIS AUTHORITIES WERE ALSO INTERESTED IN THE IDEA
OF UNILATERAL TABLING OF THE US SUB-TOTALS AND
THE WESTERN ESTIMATES OF SOVIET SUB-TOTALS. THE
LATTER STEP WOULD BE A TACTIC TO BUY TIME. FRG
REP AGREED WITH BELGIAN REP ON UNILATERAL TABLING,
AND SAID THAT TO GIVE AWAY THIS DATA UNILATERALLY
WAS NOT SUCH A GREAT LOSS. ITALIAN REP ALSO
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AGREED THAT THIS WAS A COURSE WORTH EXPLORING. DUTCH REP DISAGREED WITH THIS VIEW, AND REITERATED ARGUMENTS PREVIOUSLY MADE AGAINST IT, PARTICULARLY THAT THIS APPROACH WOULD NOT GAIN TIME, BECAUSE THE EAST WOULD REJECT IT IMMEDIATELY, AND IN ADDITION THE EAST WOULD ONLY SEE IT AS A HOLDING OPERATION. US REP AGREED WITH DUTCH REP, AND POINTED OUT THAT FOLLOWING THIS COURSE WOULD LOSE TIME IN THE EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE DISCREPANCIES, AN EFFORT WHICH IS IN THE WEST'S INTEREST, AND WOULD LEAVE THE AD HOC GROUP IN THE SITUATION DESCRIBED BY THE AHG IN THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH OF ITS END OF ROUND REPORT (REF B).

8. NEXT SPC MEETING ON DATA DISAGGREGATION WILL BE TUESDAY, APRIL 26.

9. COMMENT: IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT AT THE PAST THREE SPC MEETINGS, NO ONE HAS RAISED OBJECTIONS TO THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS OTHER THAN THE FRG. BELGIUM AND ITALY HAVE LIMITED THEMSELVES TO COMMENTS THAT THE FRG NEEDS TIME TO REFLECT, AND TO SUPPORTING DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS.

10. THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE SPC DISCUSSION REMAINS GOOD. THE FRG HAS SHOWN THAT IT CONTINUES TO BE OPEN TO US ARGUMENTS. FRG DELEGATION OFFICER HAS TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THE FRG WAS IMPRESSED BY THE COMMENTS THE US MADE AT THE LAST MEETING ON THE FRG IDEA OF DISAGGREGATION ON A FUNCTIONAL BASIS (PARA 10, REF C). AS A RESULT OF THESE US COMMENTS, FRG DELEGATION UNDERSTANDS THAT BONN IS MOVING AWAY FROM THIS IDEA, ALTHOUGH THE FRG PAPER WILL EXPLORE THE OTHER FRG IDEA OF DIS-
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AGGREGATION ON A UNIT BASIS, I.E., "X" UNITS AT "Y" MEN. FRG DELEGATION OFFICER ALSO TOLD US THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE FRG WOULD NOT PRESS THE IDEA OF UNILATERAL TABLING OF US SUB-TOTALS AND WESTERN ESTIMATES OF SOVIET SUB-TOTALS.

11. WE BELIEVE THAT THE US CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE APPARENT CONTINUED FRG RECEPTIVENESS TO US ARGUMENTS BY GIVING THE FRG IN TO THE TALKING POINTS PAPER ON VARIOUS OPTIONS MENTIONED IN PARA 4, REF A. THE US COULD THEN DRAW SELECTIVELY ON KEY PORTIONS OF THE PAPER AT THE TWO OR THREE SESSIONS

MENTIONED IN PARA 2, REF A. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO GUARD AGAINST A SITUATION WHERE THE FRG MIGHT BECOME DEFENSIVE AND SEEK ONLY TO DEFEND ITS POSITIONS BEFORE THE COURT OF THE THIRTEEN OTHER ALLIES.

12. IN VIEW OF THE US STATEMENT AT THIS MEETING ABOUT ACTIVELY CONTRIBUTING TO THE DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK, WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT THE US MAKE NEW SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS AT THE SPC MEETING ON TUESDAY, APRIL 26, EVEN IF THE WHOLE US

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PAPER IS NOT FINISHED BY THAT TIME. WE SEE THREE MAJOR AREAS WHERE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE US TO INTRODUCE NEW MATERIAL AT THE TUESDAY MEETING.

A). THE FRG IDEA OF DISAGGREGATION BY UNIT. WE HAVE NOT HAD MUCH TO SAY ABOUT THIS SPECIFIC IDEA THUS FAR, EXCEPT TO DEVELOP THE ARGUMENT THAT ALLIED ESTIMATES OF EASTERN DATE ARE CONSTRUCTED ON A NATIONAL BASIS, NOT A UNIT BASIS, AND THAT THE LOGICAL NEXT STPE IS THEREFORE EXCHANGE OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS, WITH POSSIBLE FURTHER BREAKDOWN TO FOLLOW DEPENDING ON THE RESULTS OF THAT EXCHANGE. SINCE THE FRG HAS RETAINED THIS IDEA, AND IS APPARENTLY MOVING AWAY FROM A FUNCTIONAL BREADDOWN IN LIGHT OF THE SUBSTANTIAL US COMMENTS ON THE LATTER ISSUE, IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE US
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TO MAKE A FURTHER INSTRUCTED COMMENT ON DIS-
AGGREGATION BY UNITS AT AN EARLY DATE.

B) THE DUTCH PROPOSAL. THE FRG WILL
UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE TO SUPPORT HIS PROPOSAL,
EVEN IF THE DUTCH WITHDRAW IT, AND DESPITE THE
FACT THAT NO OTHER ALLY SUPPORTS IT (BELGIUM
FINDS IT "INTERESTING"). THE DUTCH PROPOSAL
HAS BEEN EXTENSIVELY COMMENTED ON BOTH AT THE
PREVIOUS SPC MEETING (PARA 7, REF C), AND AT
THE APRIL 20 MEETING. HOWEVER, ANY SUPPLEMENTARY
ARGUMENTS WHICH HAVE NOT ALREADY BEEN MADE WOULD
BE USEFUL. ONE ADDITIONAL ARGUMENT WHICH OCCURS
TO US IS THAT THE OTHER SIDE HAS NO PARALLEL WAY
TO RESPOND TO INDIRECT USE OF A NATO PUBLICATION
ON WESTERN DATA. THERE IS NOT NOR WILL THERE BE
AN UNCLASSIFIED EASTERN PUBLICATION ON EASTERN
DATA, AND THE EAST WILL WANT ANY EASTERN DATA
INTRODUCED INTO THE NEGOTIATION TO BE COVERED BY
THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE NEGOTIATION, I.E., TO
BE TABLED. THUS THE EAST HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT
TO INSIST ON A CORRESPONDING WESTERN MOVE, I.E.,
THE ACTUAL TABLING OF THE WESTERN DATA, AS
OPPOSED TO INDIRECT USE OF WESTERN DATA.

C) UNILATERAL TABLING OF US SUB-TOTALS AND
WESTERN ESTIMATES OF SOVIET SUB-TOTALS. THIS
IDEA HAS ALSO BEEN EXTENSIVELY COMMENTED ON,
AND ALTHOUGH THE FRG MAY NOT PRESS IT, THE IDEA
IS STILL ALIVE. ONE LINE OF ARGUMENTATION
AGAINST THIS IDEA HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY STATED BY
US AND OTHER DELEGATIONS, I.E. THAT THIS PROPOSAL
SIMPLY CONTINUES TO ARGUE WITH THE EAST IN FAVOR
OF A US-SOVIET EXCHANGE, WHICH THE EAST HAS FIRMLY
REJECTED, ETC. HOWEVER, THE OTHER LINE OF
ARGUMENTATION AGAINST THIS IDEA, STATED ONLY
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BY THE US, HAS NOT BEEN AS FULLY DEVELOPED, I.E.,
THE US UNWILLINGNESS TO TABLE US DATA WITHOUT
A PRE-ARRANGED SIMULTANEOUS EXCHANGE OF US-SOVIET
DATA. ANY FURTHER RATIONALE ON THIS LATTER
ARGUMENT WOULD BE APPRECIATED, AND WOULD COMPLEMENT
THE FIRST LINE OF ARGUMENTATION.

13. IN ADDITION, SINCE ITALIAN REP HAS
RESURRECTED THE RED DATA QUESTION ON INSTRUCTIONS,
WE WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION THAT THE
US POSITION REMAINS UNCHANGED, I.E., OPPOSITION TO
GUIDANCE TO THE AHG ON THIS QUESTION AT THIS TIME.
END COMMENT.

14. ACTION REQUESTED: IN TIME FOR SPC MEETING
TUESDAY, APRIL 26: THE GUIDANCE REQUESTED
IN PARAS 12 AND 13 ABOVE.PEREZ

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